## Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-12** 

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05 OMB-01 AF-06 EA-07 SAM-01

SAJ-01 /102 W

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R 311620Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4939

INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

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FROM AMBASSADOR LODGE'S OFFICE

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, VT, XF, XH, XA, IT, VN

SUBJ: THE VATICAN AND WORLD POLITICS

1. SUMMARY: POPE PAUL VI'S ANNUAL CHRISTMAS ADDRESS TO COLLEGE OF CARDINALS TRADITIONALLY SUMMARIZES SIGNIFICANT HOLY SEE ACTIVITIES DURING YEAR AND TRACES OUTLINE OF VATICAN POSITIONS ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. THIS YEAR'S MESSAGE CONTAINED PROMINENT COMMENTS ON FOLLOWING SUBJECTS: HELSINKI DECLARATIONS, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST STATES, DISARMAMENT, MIDDLE EAST PEACE

EFFORTS, VIETNAM RECONSTRUCTION, AFRICA, AND CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN ITALY. END SUMMARY.

- 2. INTRODUCTION: POPE'S MESSAGE TO COLLEGE OF CARDINALS DEC. 22
  BEGAN ON AN UNDERSTANDABLE NOTE OF JOY AT MASSIVE PUBLIC RESPONSE
  GIVEN TO CHURCH'S HOLY YEAR ACTIVITIES--SOME 8 MILLION PILGRIMS
  CAME TO ROME DURING YEAR TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS ONE-IN-25 YEARS
  EVENT. BUT HE ALSO VOICED PAINFUL DISAPPOINTMENT THAT SOME
  FAITHFUL (READ E. EUROPEANS) WERE UNABLE TO MAKE PILGRIMAGE
  TO ROME BECAUSE OF "HOSTILE CLIMATE" IN THEIR COUNTRIES. IN THIS
  CONNECTION, POPE WENT ON TO ASSURE THESE FAITHFUL, "WHO SUFFER
  PRESSURES ON OR LIMITATIONS OF THEIR RIGHTS," THAT HOLY SEE, FOR
  "EASILY GUESSED REASONS," IS EXERCISING "PRUDENT SILENCE" ON
  MATTER, BUT THAT THIS DOES NOT SIGNIFY "INDIFFERENCE, NEGLIGENCE
  OR FORGETFULNESS"
- 3. OPEN DIALOGUE WITH ALL STATES: IN CITING HIS 17 PERSONAL MEETINGS HELD IN 1975 WITH CHIEFS OF STATE OR HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, POPE PAUL NOTED THAT THIS DEMONSTRATED OPENNESS OF HOLY SEE TO DIALOGUE WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM EVERY PART OF WORLD AND OF EVERY POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PERSUASION.
- 4. OSTPOLITIK CRITICIZED BUT REAFFIRMED: IN UNSTATED YET OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO VATICAN RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE, POPE COMMENTED THAT, ALTHOUGH IS SOME CASES RESULTS OF DIALOGUE APPEAR MEAGER, INSUFFICIENT, OR LATE IN ARRIVING, HOLY SEE CONSIDERS IT ITS DUTY TO STAY COURSE RATHER THAN TO TERMINATE DIALOGUE. IN DIRECT REFERENCE TO HELSINKI DECLARATIONS, POPE SAID THAT PARTICIPATION OF HOLY SEE WAS FOR PURPOSE OF GIVING MORAL SUPPORT AND TO BE SPOKESMAN FOR RELIGIOUS CONSCIENCE AND FOR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS. HE THEN STATED THAT HOLY SEE, TOGETHER WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS, LEGITMATELY EXPECTS "A SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT IN INTERNAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE" OF EUROPEAN PEOPLES AND THAT IT "INTENDS TO ACT SO THAT THESE POSITIVE RESOLUTIONS ARE NOT FORGOTTEN OR GO UNOBSERVED." HE FURTHER STATED HOPE THAT LETTER AND SPIRIT OF HELSINKI WILL ASSIST IN BRINGING ABOUT, IN INTEREST OF BELIEVERS, ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS WHERE SOME SITUATIONS OF HARDSHIP PREVAIL AND SPECIFICALLY CITED IN THIS CONNECTIONS EXISTING SITUATIONS IN "CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ROMANIA AND IN CERTAIN REGIONS OF USSR." LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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5. COMMENT: VATICAN EXPECTED HELSINKI SPIRIT TO FOSTER GREATER PROGRESS IN ITS OSTPOLITIK BUT HAS BEEN DISAPPOINTED THAT THE RESULTS SO FAR ARE NOT VERY PROMISING. ACCORDING TO VATICAN SOURCES, EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES DID NOT LIBERALIZE VISA PROCEDURES TO PERMIT HOLY YEAR PILGRIMAGES TO ROME AND THAT ONLY GROUPS PERMITTED TO COME WERE AGREED UPON PRIOR TO HELSINKI. FURTHERMORE, THERE WAS SLOW PROGRESS IN VATICAN'S OSTPOLITIK-

ITS TWELVE-YEAR-OLD EFFORT SEEKING NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH DURING 1975 DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS WITH HUNGARY WERE FRUITFUL (ROME 16666 NOTAL) AND A BREAKTHROUGH EMERGED IN RELATIONS WITH BULGARIA (ROME 11709 NOTAL), THERE WAS PRACTICALLY NO PROGRESS IN RESOLVING OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS WITH SOVIET UNION, CZECHOSLOVAKIA (ROME 18526 NOTAL) OR ROMANIA--THUS POPE'S UNUSUAL SPECIFIC MENTION OF THESE COUNTRIES IN HIS CHRISTMAS MESSAGE.

6. DISARMAMENT: SUPPORT FOR SALT NEGOTIATIONS: CALLING FOR AND END TO DANGEROUS AND MORALLY REPREHENSIBLE PRODUCTION AND COMMERCE OF DESTRUCTIVE ARMS--A PROMINENT THEME IN RECENT DECLARATIONS BY POPE--POPE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS, SUCH AS THOSE OF SALT, WILL CONTINUE AND THAT RESPONSIBLE STATESMEN SHOULD EXERT "GOOD WILL, TENACITY AND POLITICAL WISDOM" TO OVERCOME OBSTACLES THAT STAND IN WAY.

7. AFRICA: NO TO NEW COLONIALISM: WITH RESPECT TO AFRICA, POPE DEPLORED RECIAL PROBLEMS BUT UNDERSCORED VATICAN'S SUPPORT FOR CONTINENT'S MARCH "TO COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE". HE ALSO UNDERLINED NECESSITY THAT AFRICA "DEVELOPMENT PROCESS" SHOULD NOT BE DISTURBED BY EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE WHICH SEEKS TO SUBSTITUTE OLD COLONIALISM BY NEW FORMSF DOMINATION FOR PURPOSE OF POWER AND IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE." HE ENDED HIS COMMENT ON AFRICA WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO ANGOLA, WHERE CHURCH'S ROLE IS SO LARGE, BY EXPRESSING VATICAN'S HOPE THAT "HONEST AND LOYAL UNDERSTANDINGS WILL REPLACE THREATENING CONFLICT AND THAT JUST AND INDUSTTRIOUS PEACE WILL BE ESTABLISHED."

8. VIETNAM: IN RATHER LENGTHY COMMENT ON VIETNAM DEVELOPMENTS, POPE EXPRESSED HOLY SEE'S HOPE THAT NEW CHAPTER WHICH OPENED AT END OF 30-YVZR WAR WILL LEAD TO SEARCH FOR UNITY AND CONCORD WHICH WILL PERMIT HEALING OF PROFOUND LASCERATIONS CAUSED BY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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LONG CONFLICT, AND THAT EXPECTED UNIFICATION OF COUNTRY WILL DEVELOP IN A FRUITFUL WAY, MINDFUL OF LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE. POPE ALSO NOTED THAT HOLY SEE HAS ENDEAVORED TO REMAIN IN CONTACT WITH VIETNAMESE AUTHORITIES IN ORDER TO DEVISE WAYS FOR ACTING FOR MUTUAL ADVANTAGE OF STATE AND CHURCH. HE ALSO URGED AUTHORITIES TO GRANT CATHOLIC COMMUNITY AND CHURCH SUFFICIENT ROOM FOR ACTIVITY IN RELIGIOUS SPHERE.

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R 311620Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

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INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

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FROM AMBASSADOR LODGE'S OFFICE

9. MIDDLE EAST: "FIAT PAX INVIRTUTE TUA."

(A) ENDORSEMENT OF "STEP-BY-STEP" NEGOTIATIONS: POPE RECALLED TO CHRISTIANS, JEWS AND MOSLEMS ANCIENT ACCLAMATION THAT PRUSUIT OF PEACE IS VIRTUE AND COMMENTED THAT ALTHOUGH PEACE HAS BEEN ELUSIVE IN MIDDLE EAST, IT SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE OBJECT NOT ONLY OF PRAYERS BUT ALSO OF ENERGETIC AND UNTIRING EFFORTS BY ALL INTERESTED PARTIES. HE URGED AVOIDANCE OF "STERILE AND DANGEROUS EXTREME POSITIONS" AND AN END TO VOICE OF TERRORISM AND INDISLIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CRIMINATE REPRISALS. HE ALSO STATED THAT DIALOGUE MUST BE ADVANCED

IN APPROPRIATE WAYS AND IN APPROPRIATE SITES. HE THEN DECLARED THAT BECAUSE HOLY SEE WAS CONVINCED OF NECESSITY FOR JUST AND PRUDENTLY BALANCED GLOBAL SOLUTION TO MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM, IT WISHED TO URGE ALL RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITIES OF PARTIES CONCERNED "NOT TO NEGLECT CONCRETE POSSIBILITIES, EVEN MODEST ONES, WHICH OFFER OPPORTUNITIES TO START NEGOTIATIONS AND TO ESTABLISH FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE WHICH ARE INDISPENSABLE FOR ADVANCING TOWARDS DESIRED CONCLUSIONS."

(B) APPEAL TO ISRAEL FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS: IN MOST DIRECT PUBLIC APPEAL EVER MADE BY POPE ON PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, HE STATED FOLLOWING: "EVEN IF WE ARE WELL AWARE OF THE NOT TOO DISTANT TRAGEDIES WHICH COMPELLED JEWISH PEOPLE TO SEEK A SECURE AND PROTECTED GARRISON IN ITS OWN SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE, AND BECAUSE WE ARE AWARE OF THIS, WE WOULD LIKE TO INVITE THE CHILDREN OF THESE PEOPLE TO RECOGNIZE THE RIGHTS AND LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF ANOTHER PEOPLE, WHICH ALSO HAS SUFFERED FOR A LONG TIME, THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE."

(C) APPEAL FOR LEBANON: POPE NOTED THAT UNFORTUNATELY SITUATION IN LEBANON CONTINUES TO BE DANGEROUSLY INSECURE AND MEANACING IN SPITE OF SEVERAL EFFORTS TOWARDS PEACE--MENTIONING SPECIFICALLY CARDINAL BERTOLI'S NOVEMBER MISSION TO LEBANON.HE THEN ASSERTED THAT THOSE WHO ADMIRED PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF MOSLEMS AND CHRISTIANS HAVE NATURALLY CONCLUDED THAT RECENT ERUPTIONS OF VIOLENCE CANNOT BE ADEQUATELY EXPLAINED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO OUT-SIDE FORCES. THE POPE THEN MADE FOLLOWING DECLARATION: "THE DESTRUCTION--FOR OBSCURE MOTIVES--OF A TRADITION OF TOLERANT CO-EXISTENCE AND SOUND COLLABORATION MUST NOT BE PERMITTED. LEBANON MUST BE PRESERVED AS AN EXAMPLE ALSO FOR OTHER AND MORE EXTENSIVE FORMS OF CIVIL AND RELIGOUS COEXISTENCE IN MIDDLE EAST." STATING THAT RESTORATION OF TRANQUILITY IN LEBANON IS ALSO IN INTEREST OF NEIGHBORING PEOPLES. HE URGED LEBANESE CHRISTIANS TO RECAPTURE SPIRIT OF FRATERNITY AND TO SEEK PATHS TOWARDS CONCORD AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

10. ITALY: POPE PAUL MADE TWO REFERENCES REGARDING ITALY. FIRST HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT "ITS PEOPLE, IN THE RESPONSIBLE AUTONOMOUS EXERCISE OF ITS DEMOCRATIC REIGHTS, WILL KNOW HOW TO CONSERVE INTEGRALLY FAITH IN CIVIC AND CHRISTIAN VALUES OF HERE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ANCIENT TRADITIONS, IN ORDER TO REALIZE, WITH JUSTICE, ORDER AND RESPECT FOR THOSE MORAL VALUES WHICH ARE TOGETHER DUTY AND PROTECTION OF DIGNITY AND THE TRUE INTERESTS OF MAN AND OF THE NATION, THE PROGRESS AND HARD-WORKING TRANQUILITY TO WHICH, IN ALL FIELD, IT LEGITIMATELY ASPIRES. ON THIS ROAD IT WILL ALWAYS FIND THE CHURCH A HELP, NOT AN OBSTACLE." THEN, REFERRING TO THE 1929 CERDAT GOVERNING CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS, HE STATED: "WE WOULD LIKE AGAIN TO ASSURE THAT, WHILE WE FEEL IT VERY USEFUL,

STILL TODAY, FOR THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE TO MAINTAIN A SOLID BILATERAL BASIS OF DISTINCTION OF THE RESPECTIVE FIELD OF ACTION AND RECOGNITION OF RECIPROCAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES, THE HOLY SEE REMAINS DISPOSED TO REVIEW AND MODIFY, IN COMMON AGREEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND ALWAYS IN THE HOPED-FOR RESPECT OF THE LEGITIMATE AND ESSENTIAL NEEDS OF THE PARTIES, THOSE POINTS WHICH NO LONGER APPEAR TO RESPOND TO THE NEW SITUATIONS.

11. COMMENT: REFERENCES TO CONCORDAT REPRESENT WELL ESTABLISHED VATICAN POLICY, BUT WEAK POSITION OF PRESENT GOVERNMENT SIGNIFIES THAT NO DEFINITE ACTION WILL BE TAKEN IN NEAR FUTURE. EXPRESSIONS OF HOPE THAT "CIVIC AND CHRISTIAN VALUES" WILL BE CONSERVED SHOULD BE INTERPRETED IN CONTEXT OF CHURCH'S RECENT UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENTS ON INCOMPATIBILITY OF MARXISM AND CHRISTIANITY. VOLPE

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## Message Attributes

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